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ABSTRACT

The higher girls' schools in Japan from 1895-1926 are related to the family structure and cycle, the role of the wife and mother, the relationship between the sexes, and the relationship between generations. The higher girls' schools (comparable to secondary education), were created for the families of middle class society. They fostered the good wife/good mother ideology, the components of which include a patriot faithful to the emperor; a family member obedient to parents; a life style simple and economical; and a warm, good-minded, chaste, and gentle personality. The rationale for this approach to teaching was related to the life cycle of Japanese men and women at this time; both sexes averaged a 44.3 year life span. Educators considered the ultimate goal for a woman's happy life consisted of being a wife and mother and no more, since death and the end of the reproductive cycle were concurrent. Textbooks of moral instruction emphasized that the sphere of activity of the husband was clearly separated from that of the wife; the man devoted himself to his occupation, which promoted the happiness and prosperity of the state and society. Intergenerational relationships were based on the sense of indebtedness and obligation to the parents, in-laws, and teachers and thus reinforced the concept that woman's role was to serve the family. (KC)

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Paper presented to
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Changes in Family Structure, Sex Roles
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Changes in Families since the Early Twentieth Century in Japan

-- The Role of Higher Girls' Schools --

by

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1. Official Purpose of the Higher Girls' School

In order to explain the changes in families and in relationships between the sexes and the generations since the start of the modern era in Japan, the author would like to focus the theme on the kind of school called Koto Jo Gakko, literally translated "higher girls' school". The name, which appeared in law for the first time in 1891, seems to suggest that such schools belonged to higher education; they were, however, secondary schools for girls in the present-day sense. At first they were attended by a small number of students, but by the time these schools were eliminated in 1947, they had become the major schooling institution for the majority of girls. After 1947, these schools for girls and those for boys were integrated, but separated by levels, upper and lower; the lower secondary schools became compulsory.

The higher girls' schools represent, therefore, the main educational institution for the Japanese women during the first half of the twentieth century. As the "Industrial Revolution" in Japan is generally considered to have started in the latter half of the nineteenth century, the Higher Girls' Schools, which can be traced back to 1871, arose and gained prosperity simultaneously with the industrialization/modernization process of Japan.

The theme of this paper concentrates on the period 1895-1926, the first third of the century from the time this type of school was established and legally fully institutionalized in 1899 by the Law Concerning the Higher Girls' Schools.

During this period boys had secondary schools called Chugakko, literally translated "middle school", and Jitsukyo Gakko, "vocational school". The latter included different kinds of technical, business and agricultural schools. Those boys who graduated from a middle school went to a high school (Koto Gakko) and then to a university.

Elementary school education was compulsory at first for four years, and this was extended to six years in the year 1907. Boys and girls went, therefore, to a middle school or a higher girls' school after six years of elementary education (before 907 four years of compulsory and two years of voluntary education). Of all the girls of the compulsory education age, 71.90% went really to an elementary school in 1900,

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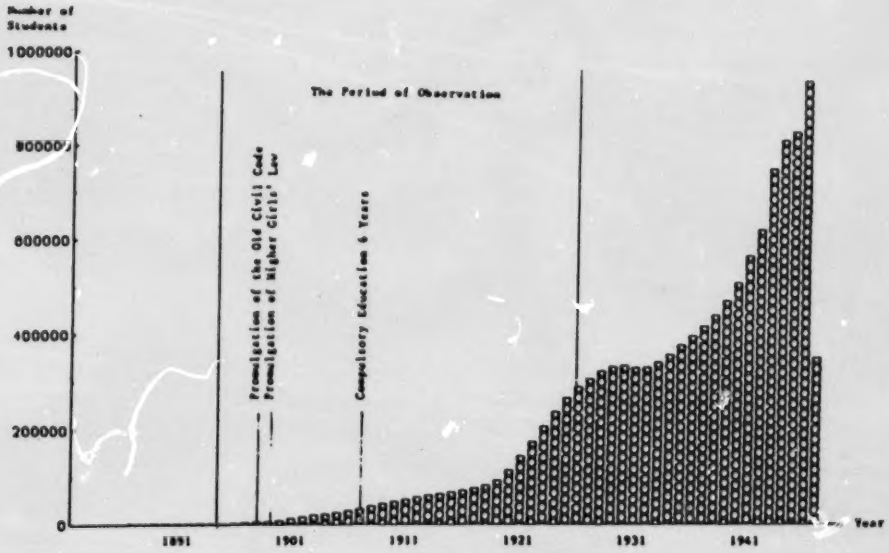
93.34% in 1905, 97.38% in 1910, and 99.39% in 1926.(1)

Figure 1 shows the increase in the number of students in the higher girls' schools.

Table/Figure 1
Change in the Number of Students in the Higher Girls' Schools
(1882-1949)



Made from: Hombusho (1973), pp. 224-227.

The Law Concerning the Higher Girls' Schools promulgated in 1899 indicates that the higher girls' schools are an institution which "aims to give higher general education necessary for women".(2) The Minister

(1) Hombusho: Hombusho Nempo (each year).
(2) Koto Jo Gakko Rei (1899), Article 1.

of Education, Norisuke Kabayama, added the following explanation[3] in the same year in his instructions to the local governors who were responsible for the establishment of this school:

> No healthy middle class society can be fostered by educating only the male population. A healthy middle class society must be fostered not only by males but also by females who, as wise mothers and good wives, organize families and thus promote the happiness of society. ..... Education in the higher girls' schools should aim to give students the foundation necessary to become wise mothers and good wives in middle class families and above. Of necessity, female students should, therefore, be nurtured in graciousness, nobility and a warm modest personality, as well as equipped with the arts and the knowledge necessary for the life-style of middle class people and above.

2. "Middle Class" Ideas of the Higher Girls' School

The higher girls' schools were planned from the beginning to foster mothers and wives who formed the families of "middle class" society and above. Besides the speech quoted above, many descriptions appeared at that time in which higher girls' schools and the "middle class and above" were brought together in mutual relationship.[4]

At that time the society was considered to be made up of three strata.[5] Each social stratum was considered as follows: The women of the lower class were considered to be the "wives of the totally poor".[6] In this social class "peasant husbands and wives worked together helping each other; they reared silkworms, realed off raw silk, working with their own hands. They went to cotton mills early in the morning and worked till night with heads stuffed with flue, wearing

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(3) Kabayama (1899), pp. 117-118.
(4) For example:
Kutsumi (1897), pp.181-191.
Kyoiku Jiron: Shasetsu (1895), p.7.
Yamane (1895), p.302.
Koba (1895), p. 93.
Akizuki (1895), p. 106.
Shinoda (1895), p. 2404.
(5) Nishimura (1895), p. 37.
(6) Nishimura (1895), p. 37.

simple cotton clothes".[7] In contrast to these lower class women, the ladies of "the middle class and above were beautifully dressed, ate daintily, went to the theatre and other entertainments, and carried nothing heavier than their own chopsticks".[8] Another document explains that daughters of the poor became baby-sitters, spinners, weavers and factory workers;[9] their parents were small dealers, factory workers, rikisha-drivers, etc., while the "middle class and above" were government officials, merchants, doctors, barristers and men of other miscellaneous business, or of no occupation.[10] Middle class persons were expected to pay income tax.[11] The criterion which separated the "lower class" from the "middle and above" seems to be whether a woman had to or did not have to work outside the family environment with her own hands.

To the upper class society belonged daughters and wives of "the noble and royal families",[12] "of men of great estate",[13] "of government officials with the rank of imperial appointment, or members of the House of Peers with imperial nomination",[14] "of the men of highest rank in the political, commercial or scientific world, for whom association with people of similar status from foreign countries is required, not only of husbands but also of wives".[15] Those "women who, because of their unusual intelligence, advanced to a university and pursued their occupation outside the family together with male persons"[16] also belonged to the "upper class". In contrast to these, "middle class" persons are described as "most of the other ladies",[17] or as "ordinary people"[18] (Heimin), or "those who do not have money".[19]

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(7) Nishimura (1895), p. 37.
(8) Nishimura (1895), p. 37.
(9) Kyoiku Jiron (1894), p.8.
(10) Kyoiku Jiron: No. 358 (1895), pp. 33-34.
(11) Matsushita (1895), p.302.
(12) Koba (1895), p. 95.
(13) Nishimura (1897), p. 31.
(14) Nishimura (1895), p. 37.
(15) Kutsumi (1897), p. 186.
(16) Kutsumi (1897), p. 181.
(17) Nishimura (1895), p.37.
(18) Nishimura (1897), p. 29.
(19) Nishimura (1897), p. 29.

One of the criteria which separate the "middle class" and the "upper class" seems to be the decision whether a woman should stay within the family environment only.

"Middle class" people were, in short, those "persons of middle level estate",[20] or "of middle class business",[21] or people "whose yearly family expenditure is between 200 and 240 yen".[22] Those families were not so poor as to need financial assistance or the physical labour of female members to support them; nor were their family businesses so important that women joined the association with foreigners, nor were their female members so extraordinary as to join activities outside the family environment.

The higher girls' school was planned for the education of the so-called "middle class and above", but in this case, the "middle class" was very much emphasized, neglecting "the above", as the following official explanation[23] shows:

> Some of the curricula in the middle school and the higher girls' school is too academic and does not match the reality of life. Students who have finished schooling and are now in society cannot utilize what they have learned at school. This is especially the case in education for women. ..... Local governors should keep in mind that within the limits of the regulation an appropriate education should be given which matches the reality of the district. In the education of girls, special attention should be paid to build good habits of economy and simplicity, getting rid of the evil practice of indulging in luxury.

Many other discussions appeared at that time which condemned upper class oriented subjects as unsuitable in the curriculum of the higher girls' school. A Professor of a Normal School[24] criticized that the curriculum of girls' education at that time, especially that of the higher girls' school was too much oriented to girls who were going to earn their living through their knowledge of natural and human sciences. He said that instruction included too many subjects which prepared them

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(20) Akizuki (1895), p. 106.
(21) Nishimura (1897), p. 26.
(22) Matsushita (1895), p. 302.
(23) Kabayama (1899), p. 118.
(24) Yumoto (1897), pp. 150-151.

to enter a university or a professional school, neglecting subjects which equipped female students with knowledge necessary to fulfill the mission "natural to women". Another professor of Normal School and Normal School for Women[25] insisted that the education of the higher girls' school should be oriented to future responsibilities of a wife in miscellaneous household work, suggesting that in the "middle class and below" all these duties should be carried out by a wife, although in the upper class they were shared by persons with special responsibility for each area without bothering the mistress of the house.

They condemned instruction in physics, chemistry, natural history, physiology,[26] foreign languages, higher mathematics, and also aesthetic subjects such as dancing, flower arrangement, tea-ceremony, music, poetry, painting, etc., as unsuitable in the curriculum of the higher girls' schools. They insisted that more hours should be allocated instead to the subjects related to household practices which were suitable to the "middle class" life-style.[27] The principal of the Girls' School for the Nobility praised the instruction of a school where, in health education classes, students washed clothes using their own muscles and a wash basin to build up a healthy body instead of playing sports.[28]

The term "middle class and above" was used on every occasion when the aims of the higher girls' school were discussed; the upper class, however, escaped from the consciousness of the planners and educators. The Japanese secondary school for girls started, in fact, as an institution to give education to "middle class" people. There was no other kind of secondary school especially designed for the "upper class" girls, not to mention, the "lower class" girls. This is different from the case in many other countries, where, the most part, the secondary education grew out of the education of upper class people.

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(25) Nanma (1897), p. 319.
(26) Nishimura (1897), p. 25.
(27) More in detail is in: Sekiguchi (1978).
(28) Nishimura (1897), p. 44.

As there were no schools specially designed for "upper class" daughters -- for the male students there were high schools and universities -- even daughters of the royal family had to go to a higher girls' school together with the daughters of the "middle class", if they did not live in a certain part of Tokyo.[29] All the girls who later went on to higher education or entered the "upper class" by marriage had to be immersed once in the ideas conveyed in this type of school.

The fact that this type of school for girls was designed for "middle class" girls, but was attended also by "upper class" daughters influenced the life of women in the whole of Japan in three ways:
1. The idea and ethos of the "middle class" was spread into the "upper class" and became also the idea and ethos of the "upper class".
2. It made the discrepancies between the "upper" and "middle classes" less clear and led to minimizing the size of the "upper class" in Japan.
3. Because this school was easily accessed by students from the "middle class" and the "lower middle" class, school attendance increased rapidly later, although it was still not compulsory.

3. "Good-Wife-Wise-Mother" Ideology Taught in the Higher Girls' School

What was taught then in a higher girls' school? What "middle class" ideas and ideology was conveyed in this type of school? By attending a certain school, students always learn something more than they are taught in the curriculum. Teachers influence the students by their behavior, although they often do not notice that they are having an influence. Students learn much from their classmates' behavior and also from all the personnel around them. The whole culture of the school, the whole atmosphere that the school nurtures, often bears a greater influence than the curriculum itself upon the students' ways of thinking and behaving although this factor has not always been planned so consciously by educators as curriculum. This way of affecting

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(29) There was one special school for the royal families in Tokyo.

students' ways of thinking and behaving is called the "hidden curriculum".

In order to elucidate the "hidden curriculum" of higher girls' schools, rather than the explicit curriculum, graduates were asked what words and phrases they often heard from their teachers and what words and phrases they saw in and around the school buildings in their school-days.(30) Answers have been gathered from 477 ladies who graduated from a higher girls' school between 1897 and 1926. These ladies are now over 70 years of age and it is observed that some of the words and phrases they learned at school were so strongly engraved in their minds as to have been kept alive for more than half a century.

Five words or phrases were mentioned commonly by graduates of many schools: Ryosai Kembo, Chu, Ko, Shisso, On Ryo Tei Shuku.(31) These are considered, therefore, the central ideas prevailing commonly at that time in higher girls' schools.

Among these five the phrase mentioned by the largest number of graduates is Ryosai Kembo, literally translated "good wife, wise mother". This phrase was mentioned by graduates of almost all the schools and constantly from the oldest generation to the youngest. This phrase represents, therefore, the nuclear idea of education at that time. All the educational intention of a higher girls' school seems to have been converged into one idea to educate girls into "good wife and wise mother".

The other four words and phrases can be considered to embody the content of "good wife and wise mother". "Chu" means "faithfulness to the Emperor", which expressed patriotism or love of country. This word

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(30) This survey was done by the author in 1976/77. Four typical higher girls' schools were selected: two from western and two from eastern Japan; two from big cities and two from local cities. A large number of graduates from these four schools and a few graduates from twenty-five other schools were asked by mail to fill in a questionnaire. The list of the original words and phrases mentioned by the graduates is reported in: Sekiguchi (1981).

(31) Ryosai Kembo (良妻賢母): Good wife wise mother, Chu (忠): faithfulness to the Emperor, Ko (孝): filial piety, Shisso (質実): simplicity, On Ryo Tei Shuku (温良貞淑): Warm, Good-minded, Chaste, Gentle.

and other expressions meaning the same appeared from graduates in local cities from 1907 up to the youngest graduates of this survey (graduates in 1926); it stopped, however, in large cities in 1919.

The word "Ko" means "obedience to the parent" or "filial piety". It expresses how one should behave as a family member. This word, or expressions of a similar content, appeared first in graduates of 1908 and continued up to the graduates of the youngest generation in local cities; however it ceases in 1919 in large cities. "Chu" and "Ko" are often cited together as one expression.

The phrase which was the second most frequently observed among the five is the idea "simplicity". Referring to the style of living, it expresses "middle class" ideas most effectively. The expressions varied slightly according to schools or to ages: "Shisso", "Shisso Kenyaku", "Shisso Setsuyaku". All these expressions, however, encouraged simplicity and economy, warning against splendor. "Shitsujitsu Goken", which was typical of one higher girls' school, added "stoutness" to "simplicity". This simplicity idea was frequently applied to the style of clothes: the length of the skirt is five sun from the floor; the length of sleeves should be less than one shaku five sun; genroku sleeves, cotton clothes, white neckband, small pattern, etc. Thus, simplicity was considered a virtue that students should strain after. This style of living was so strongly indoctrinated into the mind of students that they despised gorgeousness and extravagance as symbols of the uneducated. How proud the graduates were of this life-style as belonging to their social stratum is easily observed when the answers in the questionnaire are read.(32)

The last idea conveyed frequently in the higher girls' school is typically expressed "On Ryo Tei Shuku", literally translated "Warm, Good-minded, Chaste, Gentle". These are the ideal personality qualities that students should try to develop. This set phrase was modified slightly according to schools: in one school, the character "Good-minded" was changed into "Obedient"; in another, the character

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(32) Most of them appreciated this instruction; there are, however, a couple who now regret this manner of living. Sekiguchi (1981), p. 167.

"Gentle" into "Pure". In this school also, the words "Misao" (Virginity) and "Shisei" (Whole-heartedness) were often mentioned, "Misao" being symbolized by the stone bridge which was built over the stream in front of the main school gate and named "Misao-bashi" (virginity bridge). In this school the alumnae association, too, was named Misao-kai. In another school, cherry blossoms and a willow tree were used as a symbol to express the ideal personality. In this school, the phrase "Gai Ju Nai Go" (Outside Soft, Inside Strong) was preferred to the set phrase quoted in other schools.

The educational intention in higher girls' school is summarized as: good wife, wise mother", which was the final aim of education, the details of which may be further analyzed as: a patriot "faithful to the Emperor", a family member "obedient to parents", a life-style "simple and economical", and personality "warm, good-minded, chaste and gentle".

4. Family Cycle in the Early Twentieth Century

In this chapter the background which produced this type of education will be examined briefly. Some statistics will be given to clarify the situation at that time.

According to the statistics in the early twentieth century both men and women lived on average 44.3 years (male 44.26, female 44.25).(33) The average age at marriage in 1920 was 29.2 for a man and 24.3 for a woman;(34) the age difference between husband and wife was, therefore,

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(33) Averages from 1908 to 1913. Naikaku Tokeikyoku (1920), p. 56. Although this figure is worked out by statistics, the fact that the mortality rate of infants and youth was high at that time should be taken into consideration. A male child one year old had on average another 51.6 years of life before him, a female, 51.2 years. A male person who lived for 20 years had still 41.1 years, a female, 41.7.
(34) Calculated from the statistics in 1920, Naikaku Tokeikyoku (1922), p. 37. This is the average age of legal marriage. It is possible that a couple started their married life somewhat earlier, because old custom of registering a marriage when they had a baby may still have remained in some districts.

4.9 years. Another statistics[35] indicates that a woman before the World War II bore on average 5.2 children in her life time.

From these data the following life cycle can be figured out: A boy baby was born; 4.9 years later, therefore, when he was 4.9 years old, a girl baby, who would be his wife in the future, was born in another family. They grew up, met on some occasion, and married when he was 29.2 years old and she, 24.3 years old. They had five children, one after another. If the interval between the children is estimated at three years, the couple had their last baby when the husband was 44.2 years old and the wife, 39.3 years old. The man died three years later, leaving the widow with small children. She lived a widow for 4.9 years and died at the age of 44.3 when her last child was, roughly calculated, 5 years old.

The Civil Code of 1898 regulated that the eldest son was responsible to take care of the other family members,[36] having, at the same time, the right to inherit all the family estate.[37] When the parents died, small children were ideally taken care of by the eldest brother, or if he was still too small, by the eldest brother of their father.

The life cycle has changed in this half century. A contemporary Japanese woman lives on average until 79.13 years, a man 73.79 (1981).[38] They have on average only 1.73 children in their life time.[39] The same stage of the life cycle which an early twentieth century woman reached at her death -- the stage when her last child became 5 years of age -- can be reached by a contemporary woman when she is approximately 33 years old.[40] The remaining years of life of an average contemporary woman were not known to early twentieth century woman.

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(35) Rodosho Fujin Shonen Kyoku (1963), p. 173.
(36) Old Civil Code: Articles 747, 749, 798, 970.
(37) Old Civil Code: Articles 748, 970, 799, 801.
(38) Koseisho Tokei Johobu (1982).
(39) Koseisho Jinko Mondai Kenkyujo (1981).
(40) A more detailed comparison of the life cycle fifty years ago and that of the contemporary couple is also in; Sekiguchi (1980), p. 6 and Sekiguchi (1975) pp. 34-37.

When this short life cycle is considered, it is well understood that educators in the early twentieth century considered the ultimate goal of a woman's happy life consisted in being a wife and mother, and no more.[41] The early twentieth century woman married, tried to be a good wife to her husband, and after his death tried to survive as long as possible as wise mother rearing her small children. Her purpose in life lay in bringing up her children; success and happiness in life was determined by her success in that process. She was fortunate if she did not have to join the labour force outside the family environment in order to support the family.

5. Relationship between the Sexes in the Early Twentieth Century

The relationship between the sexes will be first examined here mainly by using the textbooks of "moral instruction". As there were no hours for religious instruction in Japanese school, there were instead hours called "Shushin", in which the fundamental principle of the way of living was taught to students. The textbooks quoted below were published in 1907 after they had been used for several years and had been revised by Rikizo Nakajima, Professor of Tokyo Imperial University, and Toshihide Shinoda, Professor of Normal School for Women, taking into consideration the opinions of the teachers who had used them. The copyright of these textbooks was held by the Ministry of Education.

The central ideas which controlled the relationship between the sexes will be understood from the following quotations:

> Unless she is a good wife and wise mother, a woman is never able to achieve a full personality. A man and a woman make one family, cooperating with each other in dividing the work. Thus each develops his or her own essential nature. If they are occupied with the same work, their highest objectives cannot be accomplished.[42]

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(41) One of the graduates of the survey mentioned above responded that she went on to further education because she had to earn her living by herself as she was not healthy enough to marry.
(42) Hombusho (1907), vol. 5, p. 30.

The chapter about marriage reads approximately as follows: "Marriage is an important event in life; it influences the prosperity of the family, not to mention the happiness of the persons who marry, and also the future of the state. Marriage should be, therefore, entered into prudently. ..... In the old days it was often planned solely by parents; it was sometimes executed only for the sake of convenience. Today, however, not only opinions of parents of both parties, but also the opinions of the persons who marry are valued. Think of your own personality, health, preference, etc., take the opinions of your parents and elders into considerations as they have more experience in life than you, and decide whom you wish to marry with. ..... There is no perfect person in the world. If your future husband has, hopefully, a great career before him and seems to have a promising future for society and the state, cooperate with him, enduring some minor defects; free him from family cares by managing the family household, and thus bring him to his success."(43)

Another chapter referring to the attitude toward the husband, is summarized as follows: The most important action for a married woman was to organize the household management, serving and cooperating with her husband, to free him from family cares, take the responsibility of educating the children, and thus to bring prosperity to her family. As man and woman were different in nature, they were different in their mental and physical development. To compensate for demerit in one with merit in the other, man should work outside the household while woman should manage inside; thus by producing harmony in the family, happiness would be enjoyed. The husband was out of the home during the daytime pursuing his occupation. As soon as he came home, the wife should receive him with a kind word and warm atmosphere, let him forget his labour by consoling him, and enable him to betake himself again the next day to work afresh, recovered from his fatigue. She was also recommended to assist him in his obligations in occupation itself to some extent. These were the usual ways in which she was expected to cooperate with her husband in ordinary times.

In critical times the way the wife could cooperate with her husband

(43) Hombusho (1907), vol. 4. pp. 17-19.

might vary according to the character of the crisis. Because of the wife's intention to cooperate with him, and if she tried in ordinary times to understand and to be deeply versed in the nature of his obligation in his profession, the most effective way to rescue him from crisis would surely be devised. Thus, the husband would achieve success in his career.

The wife needed to follow her husband; however, if the wife feared the husband would bring disgrace by failure or misdeed, it was the obligation of his wife to dissuade him from such action, with soft expressions, with presence of mind and without jealousy or grudge. It was not kind to him for his wife to overlook his misdeed for fear of his rage.(44) These were the essence of the "good wife" ideology.

These citations indicate that completely different roles were expected of husband and wife. Their spheres of activity were clearly separated: what is expected of the man was to devote himself to his occupation which promoted the happiness and prosperity of the state and society. The virtue that a woman was recommended to value most at the selection of her spouse was whether he was a promising person for the sake of the state and society. The most important thing for the man was to succeed in his career. Success in his career was considered a source of happiness and prosperity for the family.

The word "for the sake of the state and society" always accompanied remarks about the man's activity. "Society" referred to the world outside of the family. It meant almost the same as "the state", the former emphasizing the masses of people, the latter the political body.

The state and the Emperor were considered to be one thing that could never be separated.(45) The role expectation of the husband could, therefore, be symbolized by the word "Chu", faithfulness to the Emperor. To cooperate with her husband to realize "Chu" was the wife's way to realize the virtue "Chu".

The husband ought not to be bothered with family cares. These belonged to the wife. He was allowed to spend all his energy solely on the world outside the family. The outside world was his domain of

(44) Hombusho (1907), vol. 4, pp. 22-23.
(45) Hombusho (1907), vol. 3, p.3.

activity, and in this sense the family sphere was subordinate to the occupational sphere, so far as the male person was concerned.

On the contrary, the family was the domain of the wife. In this sense the outside world was for her completely subordinate to the family sphere.

All women were taught to respect work unless they were "deformed or disabled".(46) It is noted here that such work was recommended to a woman who was born in a rich family and was surrounded by servants; an example was that the Empress herself reared silkworms. Working with their own hand was forced on all women by labelling those who did not work as "deformed or disabled". The examples of work given were, as follows: sweeping, cleaning, rearing silkworms, weaving, sewing clothes, planting fresh vegetables and fruit, raising bees and feeding hens for eggs. These were all works done within the family environment. She was only expected to step out of the family environment when the husband was prevented by some reason (death, illness, incompetency or idleness) from supporting the family financially. As the wife's working outside of the family was labelled as incompetency of male members,(47) the wife was reluctant to work outside, and the husband was reluctant to let her work outside.

As for the rearing of children, again the responsibility of mother was emphasized. "As father is usually out on business, it is usual that small children spend time at their mother's feet and are taken care of by the mother. As every word of mother, therefore, influences children, great prudence is required of the mother in her daily words and action. The first thing to strive for in the education of children is to develop healthy bodies. This is not only for the sake of the family, but also for the sake of the state and society, as this is the basis for producing future personnel useful for the state and society. The mother should not, therefore, leave the education of her children to servants who are uneducated. Thus, she should take care of children personally, their clothes, food and play. She should fulfill her love and care by providing them with these, however, appropriately."(48) This was the

(46) Hombusho (1907), vol. 4, p. 14.
(47) Matsumoto (1895), p. 305.
(48) Hombusho (1907), vol. 4, pp. 34-35.

essence of the "wise mother" ideology.

Here also three similar preconditions, in as the case of the "good wife" ideology, are observed, that the work-place and the dwelling place are separated -- therefore child rearing belonged to the mother -- , that the work of child rearing is valued because it is important for the sake of the state and society, and that she should do it herself, even if she had servants.

The traits of these ideologies are a strong division of labour between husband and wife, and the division of activity space between husband and wife. So far as the family sphere was concerned, the initiative of the wife was strongly recommended. The last chapter of vol. 4 gave a special space for the theme: Reform of the Family. Although a woman seldom devoted herself to the state directly, heavy responsibility for family reform which was the foundation of national development, lay on the shoulders of the woman. Reform in the family was important because a good life-style in the family led to good customs in society, and good national traits; therefore it influenced the dignity of the state. Thus the reform and development of the family life-style was considered an essential foundation of the development of national character.(49)

The statistics in 1920, the first census in Japan, classified the Japanese population into main workers and dependants, showing the numbers of each category as follows:(50)

Table/Figure 2

Structure of the Population in 1920

Main workers(51)	Males	17,134
	Females	9,955
	Total	27,089
Dependants	Males	10,818
	Females	17,942
	Total	28,760
Total		55,849

(49) Mombusho (1907), vol. 4, pp. 34-35.
(50) Toyo Keizai Shimposha (1927), p. 640.
(51) In this category "the jobless" are also included.

From these figures, 61.3% of all the male population, including children and the old, and 35.7% of all the female population including the same, had an occupation. Of all the working persons 63.3% were men and 36.7% were women. In the survey of graduates from higher girls' schools from 1898 to 1926,[52] 35.6% had job experience in their life. Most of them had it, however, only for a couple of years. The percentage of those who had a job longer than ten years is only 17.0%. Graduates of the higher girls' schools, in this sense, belonged to the typical "middle class" defined in Chapter 2. The ideology of "good wife, wise mother", which was characterized by the strict division of labour between husband and wife, was strongly conditioned by the short family cycle, as has been shown by the statistics; however, in reality, only "middle class" persons could enjoy this life-style.

"Middle class" was defined as "middle class business" people, as has already been seen, and the names of occupations given were government officials, merchants, doctors, barristers and other miscellaneous businessmen. The characteristics of these occupations are considered to be separation of work-place and dwelling place and/or high education and training. When business has become large scale, it is necessary to separate it from everyday household of the family. People begin to have offices, factories and stores in a separate place from their house. So the work-place becomes separated from the dwelling place. When the work load increased in quality and complexity, business requires persons special skills and knowledge, obtained only through special training and education, so that worker can not be easily replaced by others. These "middle class" occupations mentioned above were just the ones of those kinds. They were those which appeared with the bureaucratization and professionalization of the commercial and industrial worlds.

For Japan to accomplish the rapid modernization process, which was inevitably accompanied by bureaucratization and professionalization of business and industry, meeting the strong demand for such personnel was an essential problem to be solved urgently. Freeing husbands from the family cares, as the "good wife ideology" implied, is considered to have

(52) The same survey as (30).

been a strategy of making the best use of the small number of personnel with high university or professional school training, which Japan possessed in the modernization period.

Of all the graduates from Higher Girls' Schools, 55.8% answered that their fathers' work-place was located at or around their residence while 44.2% said it was located at a different place from home. However, only 30.0% of their husbands had their work-place at their residence and 70.0% worked in an office at a different place from the home.(53) The results of the investigation show that the graduates of Higher Girls' schools, many of whom were born in families of pre-professionalized/bureaucratized occupations, moved after education and marriage into the typical "middle class" life. As these were the families which emerged in this modernization/industrialization process, a new life-style, therefore, the reform of the family style, was also inevitably required.

7. Relationship between Generations in the Early Twentieth Century

The central idea underlying relationship between the generations was that all children were indebted to parents because they were born and brought up by them.

> One is there, as one's parents were there. One is what one is at present because after birth one has long been under one's parents' love and care.(54)

> Every one, of high or low standing, has grown up only because of being nurtured by parents; every one must, therefore, bear in mind the repayment of this great debt to parents. The way of a child is to obey parents when one is small, to support one's parents when one has grown up, and to delight one's parents by bringing familial prosperity and establishing oneself. This filial ethos is called "Ko".(55)

One was required to repay this debt to the parents. But as it was so large as to be "higher than the mountain and deeper than the ocean",(56)

(53) The same survey as (30).
(54) Hombusho (1907), vol. 4, p. 19.
(55) Hombusho (1907), vol. 2, p. 1.
(56) Hombusho (1907), vol. 4, p. 19.

it was feared that one could not repay this debt, even if one put one's heart and soul into the task. This feeling of indebtedness led to the family obligation that one must respect one's parents first of all. "The first thing that one should think of in a family is to respect one's own parents."(57) This virtue was expressed by the word "Ko".

As for concrete ways in which one can repay this debt to some extent, the textbook suggests the following: "Now you are studying and cannot serve your parents by waiting on them all day long. What you can do instead at school is to respect the teaching of the teachers, and to accomplish good achievement with great effort. What you can do at home is to repeat lessons which you have already learned and to prepare for what you are going to learn, without being pressed by others, as well to help your parents in the household work. You can also free your parents from anxiety by taking care of your health and paying attention to hygiene, so as not to be taken ill."(58) These were the general ways to repay the filial debt as a student.

Of a female student, a stricter demand was required. As a woman, in most cases, parted from her parents earlier than a man and joined another family at marriage, she had not time enough to repay her debt to her parents. She should make, therefore, more effort to comfort her parents in her childhood, and should try not to bother her parents with every day matters. When married, she should visit her parents sometimes to cheer them.(59)

This feeling of obligation was extended also to the parents of the husband. As they were her husband's parents they should naturally be considered the same as her parents. She was thus required to serve them just as well as she did her own parents. In this case, however, a different condition was added, namely, the transfer of a female partner from her own family to the family of the male partner as was usually required in marriage. "Every family has its own family custom. As it is different from family to family, one should listen to the husband's parents and try to follow the custom of his family."(60)

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(57) Monbusho (1907), vol. 4, p. 19.
(58) Monbusho (1907), vol. 4, p. 20.
(59) Monbusho (1907), vol. 4, p. 20.
(60) Monbusho (1907), vol. 4, pp. 20-21.

"The lack of harmony between the young wife and her husband's mother is often reported. There may be several reasons for that, but one of the main reasons is that the young wife does not fulfill the duty of obedience to her husband's mother. ..... If a young wife, being obedient and patient, intends to serve her husband's mother sincerely, the relation between them will be harmonious, gradually growing into the same love as between a real mother and daughter. To complain against her husband's mother, counting her defects one by one without thinking of her own defects, is proof that the young wife is not equipped with virtue."(61)

The same attitude conditioned by filial debt was extended also to teachers who were not in the family. "You students should always follow and serve the teacher obediently because he is in charge of your education on behalf of your parents. When instructed, you should listen to him attentively in an upright posture without chattering. When you have a question, you may ask it, but in an orderly manner. Never behave rudely against him. When you meet him outside the school, behave yourselves in the same manner towards him as you do in school."(62)

The second basis of inter-generational relationship was respect for knowledge and experience. Students were advised to respect "the wise and the able" just as they should respect teachers. They would become virtuous, intelligent and develop knowledge and skill if they followed them. "The wise and the able" were defined as persons who were useful for the sake of the state and society because of their knowledge and skill.(63)

> The "elders" mean usually persons who are older than you; however, persons equipped with experience, or intelligence, or fine character, or virtue, can also be called the elders. Those persons who are older have, even if they are not intelligent, more experience and are better versed in worldly affairs. It is natural to respect such persons.(64)

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(61) Mombusho (1907), vol. 4, p. 21.
(62) Mombusho (1907), vol. 1, p. 2.
(63) Mombusho (1907), vol. 1, pp. 2-3.
(64) Mombusho (1907), vol. 2, p. 8.

"Those who are elder as well as those who are of high rank have more experience and knowledge in the world and have rendered distinguished service to the state and society. It is one of our duties to pay an appropriate respect to those persons".(65)

The sources of respect and therefore obedience to parents, parents-in-law, teachers and elders were the experience, knowledge and skills as well as meritorious service done for the state and society. The textbook recognized that disharmony occurred, not seldom within the family between the young wife and her husband's mother because the activities and responsibilities of both overlapped. It was usually conceived that at marriage the young wife moved to the husband's family and lived there with his parents -- this is also a "middle class" idea as it is not customary in lower classes where houses were not spacious enough. It was reasonably recognized by the textbook that the young wife was superior in knowledge to the older generation,(66) because she had enjoyed new school education which had not been customary in the older generation. By emphasizing experience, however, and also emphasizing the debt of the younger generation to its natural parents for life itself, and by extending this feeling of indebtedness to parents-in-law, the respect and obedience of the younger generation for "elders" were reasoned.

Thus ideally, the power structure in a family showed that the "family of procreation" was subordinate to the "family of orientation". In reality, however, the figures which a contemporary person might imagine from this ideology would have been different.

Another statistics(67) should be shown here: the family structure in the year 1920. Because the prevailing family ideology suggested that the "family of procreation" lived with the "family of orientation", it is to be noted, that in 1920 the percent of nuclear families was already so large as 54.0% and that of lineal families, which should be ideally the main family pattern, was only 31.0%. The present-day (1980) percentage in the nuclear family is 63.4%, in the lineal family and the

(65) Hombusho (1907), vol. 1, p.3.
(66) Hombusho (1907), vol. 4, p. 21.
(67) Toda (1937), pp. 472-507.

Table/Figure 3

Family Structure in 1920

	%
Nuclear family	54.0
Lineal family	31.0
Other-relatives and Non-relatives household	8.0
One-person household	6.6
Total	100.0

other-relatives household together 20.7%, in non-relatives household 0.2% and in one-person household 15.8%.(68) Of all the graduates from the higher girls' schools 54.5% lived in a nuclear family, 22.2% in a lineal family, 4.6% in an other-relatives household, 6.9% in a non-relatives household, 9.0% in a one-person household (2.7% is unknown).(69)

The ideology "Ko" which suggested that the "family of procreation" was subordinate to the "family of orientation" was the foundation of the family. However, the period during which the young couple was controlled by this idea of "obedience" cannot have been long because the parents did not live long, as the life cycle has shown and as the statistics of the family structure indicate. With the death of the parents, the young couple was soon free from the "obedience" and was forced to be independent. The real life of the young couple, therefore, would not have been so different from that of a young couple today when the old family ideology "Ko" has completely vanished.

What was more different in comparison with present reality would have been the relationship of the child to those of her/his own generation, although little has been written about this. Every child had more brothers and sisters (on the average 4) than the present-day child (on the average 1). Children were often left behind after the death of the parents when they were still small; in that case the eldest child, or ideally the eldest brother, was expected to take care of the younger ones. As this eldest brother, who remained in the same house,

(68) Sorifu Tokeikyoku (1981), p. 20.
(69) The same survey as (30).

would soon marry and himself have children, a child grew up surrounded, even within the family, with people of the same age group.

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